1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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on the uncle's death, receive a share of the inheritance. In the ordinary course, however, the sister's son never inherits, though he enjoys numerous privileges during the uncle's lifetime. When he visits his uncle's home he may appropriate any of the latter's property. He has a good deal of say in the disposal of the hand of his uncle's female child, and may receive the bride-price (though he would hand over a proportion to his uncle). In bygone days when he obtained a human head he took it to his maternal uncle, who gave gifts to his nephew and had the head cleaned of flesh. Similarly, the head of every animal killed during a hunt was handed over to the maternal uncle, the head being regarded as a principal part; "for can an animal live without its head?" an appropriate remark for a head-hunting tribe. The maternal uncle could not, among the Katab (as he could among sections of the neighbouring tribe), sell or pawn his sister's son in time of stress. The lad's father or paternal uncle alone could take this extreme measure. The practices described do not in themselves imply any condition of a former mother-right. It is perfectly natural that a boy should regard his mother's home as his own second home, and that when he visits it he should be a welcome and privileged person; for his visits are necessarily infrequent, as he has to make a considerable journey in order to reach his mother's village. That a boy is not allowed to appropriate his paternal uncle's property in the same way as that of his maternal uncle is easily understood, as he lives in daily contact with his paternal uncle. We can also understand that he has fewer privileges in the home of his father's sister, for that home is controlled by the father's sister's husband, who sees no reason why inroads should be made on his property by his wife's nephew. It is interesting to note that females are not privileged to appropriate property from the maternal uncle in the same way as males; but a maternal uncle provides his niece with numerous gifts at marriage.

More suggestive of a former condition of mother-right is the Katab custom that the first two children of a man and a woman who was married as a virgin have to be formally handed over to the wife's family group. The first child is taken, two months after its birth, to the home of the wife's parents, who, after an interval of a month, summon the husband and hold a feast. Prayers are offered for the child's welfare by the wife's father

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accompanying photograph. The Katab do not, like the Kare-kare, etc., in the north, bury their grain as a normal proceeding, but in bygone days if they expected to be raided they concealed their grain in decanter-shaped pits somewhat resembling the graves in which they bury their dead. These pits were dried with wood fires, and the narrow mouth was blocked with a stone which was plastered over with mud.

Apart from agriculture the Katab have few means of adding to their income. For their pottery they are dependent on their Ataka neighbours. There is no weaving or dyeing of cloth. Their baskets are woven by women from the ribs of palm branches, and the women also fashion the *oyam* or tray-shaped adornment worn on the buttocks. (It is made of palm fronds, the "stalk" being a piece of bamboo.) The waterproof capes and coverings for the women's loads are, however, woven by the men (from palm fronds). There is a certain amount of petty trade carried on by the women on their own or their husband's behalf. It takes the form of the sale of excess supplies of millet and other crops, of firewood, and of the beans which every married woman grows on her own account. With the proceeds of the sale of her beans a Katab woman usually adds to the number of her goats.

During the dry season the men engage in hunting drives with their Kaje, Chawai, and Morwa neighbours. Of big game there is none, but the smaller antelopes are still to be found. Hares, jerboa, iguana, rats, field-mice, etc., are also sought, and the Katab employ dogs to assist them in the chase. The usual rule applies that the man whose arrow first entered the animal, however slightly, is entitled to the quarry. Disputes frequently arise on this matter, but every man knows his own arrow, either by the length of the shaft, or binding, or by the fact that he had removed one of the ears of the arrow-head or had cut private marks on the shaft. Custom requires a successful hunter to hand over at once to the priest of the kindred any of the smaller game, but he receives back a larger share than anyone else; in the case of the larger game he is entitled to help himself before giving anything to the priest. It may be added that in former times the hunting battues were sometimes made the occasion for shooting a rival, especially the abductor of one's wife. There are also fishing battues, traps and nets being

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727 The chief enemies of the Katab were the Kaje. But an agreement was finally reached between them that all heads taken should be returned. The mode of concluding peace between two tribes
728 was for two elders from each side to meet on the boundary, each with a human head taken from the other side. The two
793 heads were then buried together. The Magajin Elenowum was not merely the custodian of human heads, but of the heads of all
224 large animals killed by hunters. All quarry had to be brought to him and was cooked by him and distributed to the various families in proportion to their numbers. The term "elenowum" seems to mean "The boiler of Pots", and to have reference to his functions as the cook and distributor of game. It may be noted that, when anyone killed a leopard, rites somewhat similar to the head-hunting rites were performed. A feast was held, and the slayer had to receive protective medicines and sleep in the hut of the priest (Elenowum or Magajin Elenowum).

793 The Elenowum played a considerable part in the social life of the village. His person was sacrosanct, and in cases of disputes or ill-behaviour he would interfere, threatening with his curse those who refused to follow his advice. He could fine summarily anyone who committed an offence against religion, such as cutting down a tree in the sacred grove.

527 The Katab do not appear to have any rest day, but Sunday is in some respects regarded as a special day. The Katab Chief is installed on a Sunday, funeral feasts are begun on a Sunday, and Sunday is considered the best day for collecting medicines. Among the Kachichere a chief on appointment has to go into
[823] seclusion for seven days, beginning on a Sunday. One of the Kagoro hills was said to emit fire in bygone days every Friday and Sunday. The sacred character of Sunday among many Nigerian tribes does not appear to be due to any recent European
778 influence. The sign of the cross is also common. The principal *obwai* hut of the Morwa has a black cross painted on the lintel of the door. The Chawai smear red crosses on certain of their sacred rocks, and it was said that the sign of the cross was
769 always smeared on the captured head of an enemy. It is interesting
782 to note that among the Chawai also a man who feels himself to be unlucky sacrifices a goat at the house of his dead father or grandfather and smears the blood on the lintel of the door.

753 *Medicine and Diseases.*—Illnesses and premature death are
754

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825 582 621 Mungwap of Agbam also respect the chameleon, and, as the two groups believe themselves to be related and refrain from intermarriage and wife-stealing, they are apparently localized groups of a single clan. On the other hand the Akumat, who do not intermarry with the Mungwop, on the ground of a common origin, do not appear to respect the chameleon. Both the Pagwar and Kachan, who refrain from intermarriage, respect a harmless species of snake which is allowed to live in the house of the priestly family of Pagwar. It appears, therefore, that on the whole the " totemic " groups do not coincide with the exogamous groups, and that if society was organized formerly on a totemic basis the totemism has broken down.

621 792 224 Each ward has its headman or " father " who is the controller of festivals and chief priest. If any member of the wards has been successful in hunting he brings the quarry to the " father " to cook. After it is cooked the " father " sprinkles some digitaria millet over it, and petitions God (Gwaza) to give the hunter further success. He then distributes it among the members of his own and the hunter's family. The man who provided the hunter with the poison by which the animal was shot is given the skin. Even in the ward of the central chief the ward " father " retains his ancient rights. He is the representative of the oldest generation and may therefore be a comparatively young man.

621 628 621 792 771 In olden days each ward settled its own affairs without reference to any outside authority, for the tribe had no central organization until it came under the influence of the Kachichere Habe of Kajuru—from whom the sword which is the emblem of chieftainship was originally obtained. If a member of one ward killed a member of another, open warfare usually ensued between the two wards. The Mingyuo ward is the priestly ward for Fadan Kagoro. They are the first to plant their crops, and are the leaders in the rites observed in connection with the harvest and the annual hunting battue. The Kagoro, however, like the Katab, do not seem to be strongly imbued with religious ideas, and there is a singular absence of organized religion. There are not, therefore, any elaborate initiation rites such as are found among their neighbours the Jaba.

727 554 The Kagoro were head-hunters. When a warrior obtained a head he put it in his bag and carried it home, where he was received with great rejoicing, the townspeople greeting him

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graphy, who is apparently particular to the senior *kwai* (and lineage) in each village. On the other hand, the priestly titles of *tenci* (pl.? *tienci*) and *tu* (or *titu*) *obwai* pertain to every *kwai;* of these the *tienci* of a village are graded according to the seniority of their respective *kwai*, and the *tenci* of the *tienwhop's kwai* serves also as the *tenci* of the village; but the *obwai* priests appear to be essentially equals, though the position is not entirely clear. Each lineage of a *kwai* has a titled head (*niewhop*), and these heads, again, are graded according to seniority."[73]

The *tienwhop* appears to be a fertility priest, essentially, and the *tienci*, hunting priests, with a unique reciprocal relationship between the *tienwhop* and the village *tenci*, implied in Smith's account of their functions and dues. According to Smith, the *tienwhop* "performed the ritual (*ci*) for health and prosperity," for which grain was collected from Kpashan only by the senior resident Kpashan clan and given to the *tenci* of the community; the *tenci* was in charge of village hunting (and head-hunting) ritual, but the *tienwhop* received "one hind-leg of every dwarf buffalo slain in the area under his ritual control."[74]

Terminological confusion obscures the role of the *tienwhop* in the village court, but it appears that he presides over "the traditional village court of priests and elders" when the charge is "ritual" offence; otherwise, "the Village Chief" (*agwom*, presumably) exercises a *de facto* jurisdiction within his Village-area, particularly with regard to cases of paternity and secondary marriage. In the past, disputes between lineages were settled by the clan heads (*niewhop* and *tienci*, apparently), and when clans of a village clashed agreement might be reached between the clan heads concerned without mediation; similarly the *tienwhop* "terminated" feuds between villages and wars with neighbouring tribes.

Limited warfare was a condition between lineages, *kwai* (even of the same *bin*) and villages, before Administration. Disputes over economic trees are said to have been frequent. Boundary disputes were formerly among the chief occasions of inter-village fighting, and occurred in a context of mutual hostility, closely associated with wife-abduction, and with sympathetic relations between villages sharing hostility towards the same community. It is noteworthy that moiety affiliation plays no part in inter-community disputes of any kind. Possibly until Administration, disasters afflicting the whole tribe such as locusts, smallpox, etc., were occasions for the assembly of all adult males by the three *tienwhop* of Zafan, Mingio, and Atswan. According to Smith these three are generally conceded by Kagoro to be senior, though there is some disagreement as to which is paramount. It would appear, however, that in the only traditional tribe-wide institution of which any account is available at present, i.e., in the tribal hunting rites, Zafan occupies the supreme position.

Hunting is still an important source of meat as well as of prestige and is an activity of clan groups closely linked with ritual. Rights to hunt in clearly specified areas are the property of the clan of the man who first marked out the area publicly for hunting. With few exceptions these areas lie in the Village-area of the clan, have clearly known boundaries and names, and do not interfere with the rights of other persons to farm in the area. The Rock itself is the common hunting ground of the tribe and no clan hunting areas are found there.

The season is opened annually in January or December by the taking of auguries by the Kumat lineage of Mungwop clan from a sacred cave at the base of the Rock. After prayers and a ritual beer drink the day for starting the hunt is fixed. On the day appointed the *tenci* of Zafan sets fire to the Rock, and this is done by every village at the base in turn. Then all the males of each community move up the Rock behind the fire, shooting the animals. The Rock hunt is followed by

[73] Niewhop (niehwop?), rendered Meakwap by Temple, and translated "high priest." Smith's account of the *niewhop*, his precise rights and duties, and the relationship between the *niewhop* and *tienwhop* of a village is somewhat confusing. Reynolds' analysis of Kaje titles cognate with Kagoro may be examined to some advantage, farther below, p. 106.

[74] It is to be presumed that *tienwhop* and *tenci* of the village are invariably separate persons, but this is not explicitly stated.

224 a tribal hunt in the large marsh of Kagoro District. These two tribal hunts (*anerifan*), which open the Kagoro year and hunting season, are of great ritual importance. After they have been performed the clan hunting areas of each community are opened in strict order of precedence.

224 554 721 [559] Prestige is associated with hunting skill and men who slew certain beasts (leopard, dwarf buffalo, " antelope " and roan [antelope]) were honoured by special titles. There are also titles associated with inter-tribal warfare and the practice of removing the heads of dead enemies. Terms of contempt were applied to men who had removed the head of an enemy killed by another, or by stealthy murder. Indiscriminate head-hunting was not practised; men won prestige titles only during fighting which had been announced by the battle-horns. Neither hunting nor head-taking prowess was apparently a necessary condition of adulthood, but either gave a man a voice in the village council.

648 Relationships with other tribes are traditionally expressed in terms of warfare and head-hunting, the occupation of territory and also, to some degree, marriage: such relations thus differ only in degree from intra-tribal relations among villages and *kwai*, and indeed *ufam* and *tusa*.[79a] At the time of the growth of the original Kagoro settlements on Kagoro Rock, perhaps at the beginning of the 19th century, Kagoro enlisted the help of Aten of Ganawuri to drive out the Kachichere who were in occupation of the plain to the north of the Rock. Thereafter the history of eastern Kagoro consisted of a series of short fights with Ataka over women, farmlands, and hunting rights. In the west the enemies of Kagoro were Kaje and the Hausa-Fulani of Jema'a, while their friends were Katab, Jaba, Kaninkon, and Kafanchan tribes. Fighting with Kaje arose from disputes over hunting and farmlands and secondary marriages.

ECONOMY: LAND TENURE

476 It is possible to treat Kagoro economy in a summary fashion, since for the most part generalizations based on available materials do not differ from those already set down for Katab proper (see above, pp. 68–9).[79b]

Co-operative Enterprise: According to Smith, " most tasks beyond the ability of individual households " are commonly undertaken by co-operative groups of varying personnel. Certain activities may be undertaken by clan groups, by persons linked by marriage or uterine ties, by the local community, by men, women, girls, and boys separately, while others are private individual arrangements. " Co-operative work extends throughout all traditional economic activity not reserved by definition for the domestic unit." Smith goes on to say that it is misleading among Kagoro to regard different domestic units as self-contained economic units. There is neither purely individual land tenure nor individual production, and consumption itself is, within the complex of ritual kinship and marriage obligations, not limited to household members only. Cash as a medium of internal exchange is unimportant, and " the social advantages of subsistence farming appear to the Kagoro to outweigh the material advantages of increased production of cash exchange in acquisition and satisfaction of new needs, specialisation, etc." In an annotated table Smith describes over twenty named institutions among Kagoro involving co-operative activity, ranging from the planting, cultivating and harvesting of specific (traditional) crops (accompanied by ritual), and hunting (also, as already noted, accompanied by ritual), to what might be termed simple industrial activities, involving limited division of labour. Among apparently recent innovations in the field of co-operation among Kagoro are the district-wide consumer

[79a] The process of fusion noted to be vital among Kagoro has bearing on this essential fact, which itself is consistent with a pattern emerging from the accounts of other, related, tribes discussed above.

[79b] Statements made in the preceding section and hereinafter reveal differences from the Katab possibly more apparent than real, but as Kagoro have been the most thoroughly investigated of these peoples further investigation may well show that they are by no means unique in such ways as they now appear to be.

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survival after death."[91] It seems clear from Smith's account that the Kagoro *obwai* cult " does not command awe among initiated males " at the present time, but he leaves some doubt as to the effectiveness of the cult among the uninitiated, particularly the women, commenting only that it " has lost some of its functions."[92] Apart from spring memorial rites the ancestral cult appears to be associated with none of the rituals of the annual cycle—planting, harvesting, or hunting.[93]

The extent to which belief in the supernatural constitutes a basis for, or at least an element of, the aforementioned rituals of the annual cycle is by no means clear from Smith's accounts of them, already referred to.[94] Tremearne, too, fails to make the point clear in describing " harvest rites."

Of hunting rites Temple says only that ancestral spirits are consulted in the sacred grove. *Akanyam*, described by Smith as ritualized beer drinking by members of a lineage at the lineage shrine (*sshwo*), appears to be associated primarily with hunting, but it is not clear whether this rite follows each hunt, or simply terminates the hunting (=dry) season. Neither is the religious, as contrasted with the social, basis of the rite entirely clear, though Smith calls it a " ritual of purification," and says that it marks the end of the period during which the hunter is in danger from his quarry's dead spirit.[95]

Judging from Meek's evidence, the *kwai* (clans) are totemic units, that is, respect particular animal species: he reports, however, that clans recognizing a common origin (that is, localized segments of a *bin*) sometimes do, and sometimes do not, recognize the same species as their emblem.

Smith gives an interesting account of the *imbhweh* cult, which during its brief career rivalled the *obwai* cult, and threatened to displace the budding chieftaincy as a comprehensive institution, so that (in 1934) the Administration felt bound to outlaw it. In general outline *imbhweh* closely resembles *obwai;* it was essentially a male secret society with masked dancers and initiation, and it imposed a certain discipline on the community through floggings and ritualistic fines of goats and beer. According to Smith, the rise of *imbhweh* was incident to the disastrous locust invasion and subsequent famine of *c.* 1930, and to the activities of a new chief appointed about this time, a ruthless man, who converted the N.A. police into a personal instrument and had people whipped, fined, or imprisoned at will. *Imbhweh's* chief claim was to the control of locusts; accordingly the shrine and ritual of the cult was established in each village, under the headship of the *titu imbhweh*. Everyone was required to attend the nightly dances at the shrine, to bring beer, goats, chickens, and dogs as tribute. Women were ordered to sleep with nominees, and premarital licence, a thing foreign to Kagoro custom, was ordered. *Imbhweh* was also instrumental in punishing theft, which had increased during the period of locust infestation. According to Smith, the great mass of the people were caught between these two opposing forces struggling for power,

[91] How this accords with Smith's assertion that " in former days . . . ritual assistance . . . was sought from [their father and father's brother] either in their lifetime by small gifts of beer or after their death," is not clear, unless it be that a generation of successful mission activity has wrought changes in Kagoro religious belief.

[92] Smith implies that even the residual core of belief in *agwam obwai* as a kind of go-between from the living to the dead, described by Meek, has vanished.

[93] These spring memorial rites are described only imperfectly by Smith, but occur towards the end of the dry season. They begin with *obwai abeyan*, then comes *fon* which seems to be a kind of memorial service for the dead of the preceding year.

[94] Smith lumps together all planting and harvest rituals as *ci* (*chi*) rituals; each of several traditional staples has its own special rites. These rituals appear to define the village, and are presided over by the village *tienwhop*, always a member of an Ankwei clan. (Whether lesser rites are subsequently held by each clan is not clear: Smith never describes the exact functions of the *niewhop*, the clan-head in ritual matters.) Hunting rites are presided over by the *tenci* of each clan: within the village, the rites of the senior clan take precedence over those of all other clans.

[95] Tremearne's (and Temple's) statement that the spirit of a hunter's quarry may be reborn in his child is perhaps relevant here.

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

was then allowed to return to his village on giving an expiatory feast to the Elders, but might neither eat nor drink with other men for the rest of his life. 682

In a case of adultery the injured man could demand the death of both the guilty parties, otherwise they were banished for life, being treated as dogs and fed with scraps out of broken vessels until they were drummed out of the place by old women. Oath was taken by jumping forwards and backwards over a sword, an arrow, a skull, and the leaf of the male shea-butter tree. 684 695

Inheritance was to the male heirs in the following order: Sons, brothers, nephews, grand-children—failing these to the Chief. It was, however, common for a man to give his property away in his life-time, when he became a pensioner to the recipient. A brother or son inherited the deceased's widows, but with that exception a man might not marry the widow of any member of his clan. 428 [431]

In appearance the Kaje is slim and of fair physique, he is well built, but his extreme drunkenness has left a mark on the skull formation. 142 273

The men wear a short gown or leather loin-cloth and the youths plait their hair and ornament it with beads. The women shave their heads and wear a leather string round the waist to which is attached a wide cone with a wooden base. That of a Chief's daughter is bound with copper wire and the base is adorned with beads—the poorer women bind it with bamboo. When working on their farms this is discarded and the married women each morning pluck a wisp of vetch, some two feet long, and tuck it under the waist-belt leaving six inches hanging in front, while the long end is pulled back between the thighs so that it sticks out like a tail. Girls wear a small apron of cowrie shells. In Zaria the women wear wooden plugs in their upper and lower lips. 291 302 [554] 291 [301]

They are excellent farmers and breeders of live-stock. They manure the ground with dung from goats and fowls, and ashes. They are keen hunters (possessing a few horses), and are expert highway robbers, but they respect any property left on the road if a leaf of the male shea-butter tree has been placed upon it. 241 231 224 674

Their arms are the bow and arrow. 911

They live in compounds surrounded by high cactus hedges. The house and granary are in one, the former being entered through a low narrow verandah, which leads into a sort of hall, where pots are stored, and which runs along the whole width of the house. Within this is a bigger sleeping apartment, and within again a circular passage sometimes roofed with an attic above, enclosing the corn-bin. Between each room is a double doorway two and a half to three feet in height, in the grooves of which a mat or shield could be placed. The houses are of mud and the roofs [36] 342